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WHOLE No. 594



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IS THERE AN AFRICITAS?¹

I. LANGUAGE

To proceed in properly logical fashion, we should first define our terms, and then marshal our arguments pro and con in orderly array. We should then weigh the evidence of the affirmative and the negative, and draw a neat little conclusion, thus forever, or at least for a long time, rescuing our question from the shadowy realm of doubt. In the case of African Latin, however, our evidence is still so far from complete, and the arguments on both sides make such an ingenious use of existing material that we can hardly hope to reach such a satisfactory result. The most we can essay is to restate the question, setting forth some of the more vexed parts of the controversy. Inasmuch as it has not received much attention from American scholars, I hope that a brief account of the discussion may be of interest to the members of this Association.

The word *Africitas* seems to have been used first by Erasmus², who, by condemning certain qualities as 'African', asserted the existence of an African Latin. In modern times the question was raised by Sittl, whose essay on the local divergencies of Latin idiom³ precipitated a lively conflict. He argued for a distinct African dialect, with strongly marked peculiarities of vocabulary, syntax, sentence-structure, and style, and he alleged as causes of these phenomena the exuberant African temperament, the climate and the surroundings of the country, and the circumstances of the introduction of Latin into Africa. He was followed by Thielmann, Bernhardt, Ott, Landgraf, Monceaux, and especially by Wölfflin. The negative side was championed by such scholars as Norden, Kroll, Rönisch, Kaulen, Kübler, Kretschmann, Boissier, Brénous, Pichon, and others⁴. Still more recently Miss Dorothy Brock has entered the lists as an opponent of *Africitas*, and has assembled an imposing mass of evidence to support her position.

I shall endeavor to summarize the claims of both sides, for greater clarity and convenience ranging them for and against each other, in each subdivision of the subject, after the fashion of a debate.

The question divides itself naturally into two parts: (1) Is there a distinctively African idiom?; (2) Is there a distinctively African style? It is quite possible to admit the one and to deny the other.

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at The George Washington University, Washington, D. C., May 6-7, 1927.

²Cited by Norden, 2, 591, thus: "Erasmus, Praef. in Hilarii editionem (1523) = epist. 613. . . Augustinus multum habet Africitatis in contextu dictionis, non perinde in verbis, praesertim in lib. de civitate dei. . ."

³Lokale Verschiedenheiten. For the meaning of this and like references see the Bibliography at the close of the paper.

⁴A great victory was won for the negative side when, in 1891, Sittl forsook his earlier position, and went over to the other side. See his article in the Jahresbericht.

In the second and the third Christian centuries Latin literature was represented almost exclusively by African writers. Fronto, Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius had the proud distinction of moulding the Latin of their time, and of producing almost the only literary works of their age. These writers show certain qualities of language and style which stand out in sharp contrast to anything that had preceded them, and exercised a strong influence on much that followed them. These peculiarities can be classified under one or other of the following heads: (1) archaism, (2) vulgarism or colloquialism, (3) foreign elements—Hellenism, Semitism, and (4) neologism.

(1) *Archaism*.—African Latin is represented as having an archaic element, which, more than any other quality, marks it off from the Latin of other provinces. The explanation is found in the fact that Latin was introduced into Africa at the time of the fall of Carthage, in 146 B. C., at which time colonists and merchants flocked to Africa in crowds in the wake of the conquering armies. It was the unfailing policy of Rome to impose Latin as the official language on all conquered provinces, and this Latin would naturally be that of the period of conquest. Africa was subjugated in the preclassical period of the Latin language; hence it was the Latin of Cato and Plautus that was carried to Africa and there maintained⁵. Although Africa was not more than three days' journey from Rome, we must remember that communication was difficult and uncertain, that such communication would affect but few, and that, on the whole, Latin in Africa was not likely to feel the effects of classicism as Latin in Italy felt them. Latin in Africa was a spoken language only until the time of Fronto, and it developed as a spoken language. It was therefore likely to preserve its archaisms, and, when it first appeared in literature, it naturally used words and forms which had been outgrown long since in classical Latin. This will account for the striking similarity of language between the works of African writers and those of Cato and Plautus⁶.

Against this argument, the negative side contends that no province was latinized immediately upon its conquest⁷, but that each province was latinized by a gradual, long-extended, tedious process, in which later arrivals played a far greater part than the first immigrants. The energetic latinizing of Africa began only with Caesar and Augustus, while Claudius, the Flavians, Nerva and Trajan colonized veterans there in large numbers. This would dispose of the 'Plautine-Catonian' theory.

⁵Wölfflin, Minucius Felix, 470-471. ⁶Bouchier, 11-12.

⁷Kroll, 574.

How, then, are we to account for the undoubted archaisms found in Fronto, Apuleius, Tertullian, and others? In this way: they were deliberate, not unconscious archaisms⁸. Fronto and Apuleius, founders of the African School (if there was one), were highly trained rhetoricians who had fallen under the spell of Greek culture, and were merely following out the prescriptions of the schools which enjoined *μυθεῖν τῶν ἀρχαίων*. The models proposed for imitation in their age were no longer Cicero and Vergil, but Ennius and Cato, Plautus and Terence, Pacuvius and Accius⁹. This antiquarian movement, begun as far back as the time of Sallust¹⁰, had finally fought its way through the bitter opposition of the classical period¹¹ and had triumphed under Hadrian, who prided himself on preferring Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, Caelius to Sallust¹². Fronto and his successors were such ardent champions of this movement that they are charged with having originated it, whereas they merely "reduced it to a system and made it creative and productive"¹³. Thus the archaisms in African Latin were not a natural survival, but a conscious trick of style, and they are not peculiar to Africa, because the usage as found in African writers can be paralleled by similar examples in earlier and later writers of other parts of the Empire.

(2) *Vulgarism*.—The second characteristic of African Latin was the prevalence of vulgarisms. It will be remembered that the Latin language underwent a curious dual development. The original tongue, the *prisca Latinitas*, divided sharply into two separate Latinities at the dawn of literature. The conquest of Greece brought the influence of Greek culture to bear on the nascent poets and orators of the warlike Republic, which until then had had no time for letters. The effects were immediate and far-reaching¹⁴. "Rome sacrificed her native tongue in order to have a literature". Greek canons of taste became the only norm, and the natural resources of the Latin tongue were temporarily checked, at least as far as written Latin was concerned. But the great mass of the unlettered folk went placidly on, speaking their own Latin, for the most part quite unhampered by the literary developments which a few literati were directing. We can get only the most tantalizing glimpses of this popular Latin, and our actual knowledge of it is rather synthetic, because it was essentially a spoken language, and lost its spontaneity as soon as it appeared in literature. We meet it—or an imitation of it—in

some plays of Plautus, in Cato, in some of the Letters of Cicero, and especially in those of his correspondents, and in the continuators of the narrative of Caesar's Wars. We have quite a treasure-house of it in Petronius, where it appears in the form of a parody. We have also a few references to it in the works of grammarians, as well as in the classical authors, who sometimes apologize for descending to a colloquialism, as we might do for using a peculiarly appropriate slang expression. The wealth of inscriptional material which promised so much has yielded but scanty information, because of its narrow range (it is confined to proper names or conventional formulae)¹⁵.

But we know this *sermo plebeius* best of all through its influence on literary Latin. When the effect of classicism had worn itself out, Latin literature would have come to an end but for the new vitality infused by the living colloquial language. The fusing of the two long-separated idioms was first evident in Fronto and Apuleius, and was set down as a characteristic of African Latin. It is sometimes difficult and not always necessary to distinguish between archaism and vulgarism, because the living language was likely to retain words and forms which the literary idiom had rejected¹⁶, and therefore the influence of the *sermo plebeius* might be seen precisely in the introduction of archaisms into written Latin. Most of the writers of the African School were Christians, and, as Christianity made its way first among the common people, it was not surprising that the *sermo plebeius* should give a very definite color and texture to the Latin of the ecclesiastical writers. This plebeian tendency was therefore taken as one of the distinctive marks of African Latin, because the writers of no other province had, up to that time, so frankly and generally used the *sermo plebeius* in their writings¹⁷.

The proponents of the negative side argued against this, not by denying or seeking to disprove the facts, but by giving them a different interpretation. Granted, they said, that African authors do show a strong bias for colloquialism, it is not because of their Africanism, for 'vulgarism is not provincialism', and it is precisely the distinction between the two which has been ignored by the champions of *Africitas*¹⁸. These vulgarisms, which consisted in the weakening of organic forms, the general breaking down of grammar, and the leveling of the boundaries between poetry and prose, were not confined to Africa, but were observable wherever Latin was spoken or written. Therefore they are not Africanisms at all, but part of a general development of the Latin language, which happens to have left more traces in Africa than elsewhere.

(3) *Foreign Elements*.—In the next place, we have to note the arguments derived from the foreign elements in African Latin. For the sake of brevity, we shall treat Hellenisms and Semitisms together. Because of their frequency in African writers, these alien turns of phrase are claimed as characteristic of *Africitas*. Before the general adoption of Latin, the peoples of

⁸Knapp, 136-141. See also THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15, 188-189. <I may say that I was not directly concerned with the question of *Africitas*. My studies made it clear to me that the archaisms in Aulus Gellius were in part plebeianisms, of which Gellius was not conscious, in part deliberate imitations of the earlier, preclassical writers. The two classes of archaisms are, in fact, often identical.—I may be allowed to express an opinion here on the matter of *Africitas*. I do not rate Miss Brock's book highly; it seems to me an admirable—or, if you prefer, a bad—example of special pleading, of forming a theory first and interpreting the evidence to suit the theory. I think that Dr. Foster in large measure disposed of Miss Brock's arguments. I myself believe that there was something that might fairly be called *Africitas*. In a word, I think Sister Wilfrid's final conclusion essentially correct. I should, however, be more vigorous in support of the view than she is. C. K.>

⁹Kroll, 378. ¹⁰Brock, 27. ¹¹Brock, 28, 29; Knapp (see note 8, above). ¹²Spartianus, Vita Hadriani 16. 2. ¹³Brock, 32.

¹⁴Monceaux, Le Latin Vulgaire, 432.

¹⁵Kabler, 165.

¹⁶Wolfflin, Vulgarlatein, 140; Foster, 5-9.

¹⁷Monceaux, Histoire Littéraire, 445. ¹⁸Brock, 185.

Northern Africa spoke Punic or some other Semitic tongue, or else they used Greek. The Semitisms and the Hellenisms would, then, be survivals in Latin of the original languages. The prevalence of Greek, however, is open to question¹⁸.

If we except an affectation of Greek learning in Apuleius, we find both Hellenism and Semitism more considerable in the ecclesiastical writers. The Church made rapid progress in Africa, and the influence of the Scriptures in both Greek and Hebrew versions is not to be overlooked¹⁹. Not that the people at large knew much of either language, but the earliest Latin translations of the Bible, around which such vexed controversy has raged, imparted a definite character to ecclesiastical Latin. The earliest translators were numerous—too numerous, according to St. Augustine²⁰—, but they seem to have been inspired by one ideal, to keep as close to their original as possible. The result was a Latin abounding in Semitic or Greek expressions, for it must be remembered that these early Latin versions were made from a Greek text which had followed its Hebrew original quite literally. This Latin entered intimately into the language of the people; they heard it from the pulpits, they read it in the writings of their teachers, and they used it in their frequent religious controversies.

Those who refuse to see anything peculiarly African in these traces of foreign influence either reduce many Semitisms and Hellenisms to the status of archaisms and dispose of them as such²¹, or claim that they are not peculiar to Africa²², but are due, in Apuleius and Fronto, to the desire for *insperata atque inopinata verba*²³ which characterised the rhetoricians generally, and in later writers to an imitation of these two. In Christian writers they are regarded as due to the effort to set forth in a not too pliant Latin a system of theological ideas which the more subtle and flexible Greek language was admirably fitted to express²⁴. Again, these first Christian writers happened to be Africans, but we cannot therefrom deduce the conclusion that the Greek element introduced by them into their Latin was due to their nationality.

(4) *Neologisms*.—Finally, African Latin showed a lively tendency to increase its own vocabulary by the creation of new words. Apuleius²⁵ set the fashion in this as in other artifices of style, and was eagerly followed by his imitators and successors. As Mr. Cooper expressed it²⁷,

... <the> distinguishing feature <of the Latin of Tertullian and the Itala> was its freedom of Word-Formation, and in this it had a positive advantage over the language of the Golden Period. Undoubtedly this power was abused by the African writers, as it was wherever the influence of the *sermo plebeius* was felt; we can see this in their needless use of prepositional compounds, their false analogies, their preference for derivatives in place of primary forms, merely for the sake of greater length. But a considerable proportion of the neologisms of Tertullian and the other early African fathers were valuable additions to the language, and the only wonder, is that they were not formed much earlier. With the spread of Christianity, many peculiarities of

African vocabulary were adopted as the common property of ecclesiastical writers throughout the whole extent of the empire, and so eventually came to play no small part in the development of the Romance languages.

The opponents of Africitas treat these neologisms as they treat archaisms and vulgarisms, declaring them to be a characteristic of popular Latin wherever found, and not confined to African writers²⁸.

In general, the arguments in favor of Africitas as a distinct dialect are reducible to these:

(1) the testimony of ancient writers to the existence of certain provincialisms, especially of African provincialisms²⁹;

(2) the survival of a Latin literature emanating from a series of African writers, during the second and the third centuries A.D., an era which shows an almost complete lack of contemporary Latin works from any other part of the Empire;

(3) a certain color or texture observable in the works of these African writers, called Africitas;

(4) the argument from probability³⁰ deduced from linguistic principles as we see them at work to-day³¹.

If national characteristics, climate, etc., have so certain an effect on the language of a people, we may conclude that the same causes would operate upon a foreign language which should be imposed upon a conquered people, as Latin was imposed upon the provinces. Moreover we have a proof of this process in the development of the Romance Languages. Even in the classical period we find Latin not untouched by provincial influences. Thus the great Livy was reproached by the purists with his Patavinities³², and the distinguishing marks of Silver Latin have been attributed to the influence of the Spanish and the Gallic Schools.

These, then, are facts, whatever interpretation we may put upon them.

The strongest argument against Africitas is the ingenious one that, granted the existence of the peculiarities noted above, granted also that certain usages occur first or chiefly in African writers³³, these facts do not prove the existence of a distinctively African Latin. This is because we have no other Latin of the same period with which to compare the Latin of African writers. These peculiarities are merely the form taken by the Latin of the second and the third centuries, and, therefore, African Latin was the Latin of an epoch rather than of a country³⁴.

In rebuttal, it might be remarked that this argument also can be overstrained. In the effort to prove that there was no African Latin, certain scholars have overlooked the fact that these writers were really Africans, that their Latin was their own and not an imitation, and that they gave a definite stamp to the Latin of their time.

The claim that we have no other contemporary Latin with which to compare this African Latin also is an argument from probability. If there had been

¹⁸Brock, 203. ¹⁹Martin, 210. ²⁰De Doctrina Christiana 2.11.

²¹Sittl, Vulgar- und Spätlatein, 246, 247. ²²Brock, 204.

²³Fronto 3.15. ²⁴Martin, 210. ²⁵Bouchier, 64, 65.

²⁷See page xxxvi.

²⁸Brock, 180, 190, 193, and *passim*.

²⁹Cicero, Brutus 170; Augustinus, De Doctrina Christiana 4.24.

³⁰Brock, 175. ³¹Cooper, xxv. ³²Quintilian 8.1.2.

³³Kroll, 582. ³⁴Brock, 260.

writers in other parts of the Empire at the time, they might have written the same kind of Latin, and they might not. Undoubtedly they would have used an idiom possessing some—perhaps even many—traits in common with African Latin, but this would have proved merely that they were all writing Latin and not starting a new language. This Latin was African because Africans wrote it; in writing it they put something individual into it. It may have been the only Latin there was, but it was African. Other writers coming after them used and modified their idiom, as they themselves used and modified the language which had been handed down to them. Thus we may accept with caution the conclusions reached by Miss Brock, through her impressive collection of evidence, by means of which she would prove that most of the so-called Africanisms may be found in writers of earlier and later times in many parts of the Empire.

Moreover, it is always possible in amassing statistics to use them for one's own purpose. Thus one scholar takes a certain suffix, gathers lists of words which show it, and proves to his own satisfaction that the suffix in question was an African termination because African writers used it, and new words of African origin were formed by means of it. Another scholar assembles another list of the same sort of words gathered from classical sources, and proves that this suffix could not possibly have been African because other writers used it.

The question appears to be unanswerable at the present stage of our linguistic knowledge. The true solution can be reached only after the whole Latinity of African writers has been systematically analyzed and compared with the Latinity of other regions of the Roman Empire³⁵.

The whole controversy seems, then, to be one 'of words and names'. We may object to the use of the term *Africitas* as signifying an African dialect, because we cannot prove enough differences in form, syntax, style, and pronunciation³⁶ to postulate such a theory. But even the most conservative must admit that there is an irreducible something in the Latin of the African writers—not found uniformly in all of them, it is true³⁷—, but found in them sufficiently to mark them as children of their country. This something—form, color, texture, whatever we wish to call it—, is obvious enough to prevent us from attributing an African origin to such a writer as Aulus Gellius³⁸, whose style nevertheless shows many traits which we have been calling African.

II. STYLE

The question of an African style, as distinguished from an African idiom, is treated by some as a separate question. Some scholars who deny the one admit the other.

The affirmative side argues for a particular style found first or only or chiefly in the works of African

writers, and attributable to (1) the *tumor Africus* or exuberant temperament of the Africans³⁹, (2) Semitic influence, (3) the climate and the surroundings. Its chief manifestations were pleonasm (in many guises) and an excessive use of rhetorical ornament. Apuleius, Tertullian, Arnobius, and Augustine certainly show these qualities in varying degrees; Lactantius, Minucius Felix, and even Cyprian offer a contrast by their moderation in this respect.

As in the case of linguistic peculiarities, the clash of opinion comes in assigning a cause for known phenomena. Norden⁴⁰ denies the existence of a *tumor Africus*, and declares the African style to be nothing but Asianism brought into Latin by the Neo-sophistic⁴¹. Sittl⁴² considers it something peculiar to Apuleius, but does not explain why subsequent writers imitated it. Boissier⁴³ attacks the reputed continuity of the African School and makes a clever paradox: the only similarity between its members is their dissimilarity. Miss Brock writes thus⁴⁴:

... These... two views amount practically to the same thing, for of that education which captivated Africa the heart and soul was rhetoric, and since a people naturally assimilates that to which it is itself akin, it was in the form of Asianism that rhetoric developed in Africa; while, on the other hand, since it was Apuleius who exercised most influence over subsequent authors and since it was he who gave rhetorical devices and ornaments widest scope, this *tumor Africus*, this Latin Asianism, became practically synonymous with Apuleian rhetoric....

Applying the same principle and method to this part of the question as to the linguistic side, Miss Brock reaches the same conclusion, namely that the peculiarities observable are not African, but peculiarities of the second and the third centuries, not geographical but chronological. They happened in Africa—they might have happened anywhere else⁴⁵. We have to admit that they might. We have also to admit that the qualities in question—pleonasm and rhetorical ornament—are found in many other writers, even in Cicero. The Africans do seem, however, to have made a more excessive use of them⁴⁶. They were a mixed race, noted for their vivid imagination and fluent vocabulary, fond of external splendor, of diversions of every sort, of richness and bright colors in dress⁴⁷, of versatility and display in literature⁴⁸. Their pleonasm appears in their fondness for pairs of synonyms instead of single terms, in a redundancy of pronouns, which were used so sparingly in classical Latin, in an addiction to superlatives and an accumulation of epithets. The rhetorical ornaments most favored by them were those designated as Gorgianic: alliteration, assonance and rhyme, parallelism of construction, play on words, antithesis, climax.

This literary tendency was undoubtedly due to the influence of the Neo-sophistic, which first appeared in Latin literature in Apuleius⁴⁹, but it evidently found congenial soil on which to fall, as we find a lively

³⁵Monceaux, *Histoire Littéraire*, iii.

³⁶The question of pronunciation has not been included in this discussion. Many scholars admit differences in pronunciation. Inscriptional evidence points to such differences, and contemporaries bear witness to them. But all this has little bearing on the matter of written Latin. ³⁷Boissier, 255. ³⁸Brock, 181.

³⁹Kübler, 162. ⁴⁰2, 500.

⁴¹2, 506. ⁴²Jahresbericht, 236, 264.

⁴³L'Afrique Romaine, 255. ⁴⁴208-209. ⁴⁵Passim.

⁴⁶Monceaux, *Histoire Littéraire*, 1, 445. ⁴⁷Cyprian, *De Lapsis* 30.

⁴⁸Bouchier, 12. ⁴⁹Goelzer, *Le Latin de S. Avit*, 730.

interest manifested by all classes of the people in the lectures of the travelling rhetorician⁸⁰. The combination of the two, rhetoric of the schools and African temperament⁸¹, seems to have blended to produce the effect. Whether a similar or quite different effect would have been produced if the seed had fallen on different soil we cannot say. The absence of contemporary Latin non-African writers does not prove that African Latin was the universal Latin of the time, nor does it prove that African Latin was not African.

CONCLUSION

It would be a satisfactory solution of the problem to say that there is or is not an *Africitas*. To say that there is an attenuated *Africitas* is not nearly so gratifying. We have to admit, however, that evidence in favor of a distinct African dialect of Latin, with a vocabulary, syntax, and structure of its own, is at present incomplete. We have no modern tongue which owns the Latin of Africa as its ancestor; if any such began to exist, it was killed off at its inception by the Arab invasion⁸². Possibly a further exploration of the rich field of late and ecclesiastical Latin will yield information which may lead to a clear and definite decision. Until that time shall come, we shall have to suspend judgment.

There does seem to be an African style, however, which a comparison of the style of other writers but serves to throw into stronger relief. May we, perhaps, compromise, reconcile conflicting theories, and, at the risk of begging the question, say that there was at least an African School of writers, who carried on the tradition of Latin writing, and, having given it a particular impress, handed it on to their successors?

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⁸⁰Bouchier, 35.

⁸¹Sidonius, *Épp.* 8.11, ... Urbium cives Africanarum, quibus ut est regio, sic est mens ardentior.

⁸²Monceaux, *Latin Vulgaire*, 446.

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SISTER WILFRID

A History of the Greek People (1821-1921). By William Miller. London, Methuen and Co.; New York, E. P. Dutton and Company (1922). \$2.00.

Mr. William Miller has written a great deal on the later phases of Greek history. Of his works the following might be mentioned here: The Latins in the Levant (London, Murray, 1908), The Ottoman Empire (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1923), Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1921), The Balkans (London, Unwin, 1923), and a most interesting book on the life of the modern Greek people, a book entitled Greek Life in Town and Country (London, 1905). He is a member of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece. Mr. G. P. Gooch, in his Introduction to the book under review, says (vii):

... There is nothing more romantic than the survival of the Greek nation and the Greek language in unbroken continuity from classical times; and no country could wish for more competent recorder and interpreter of its trials, its achievements, and its aspirations.

Mr. Miller is, perhaps, the greatest living English authority on the history of medieval and modern Greece; he "writes with sympathy yet without flattery of the gifted people whom he knows so well..." as Mr. Gooch has finely expressed it (vii).

The contents of the book are as follows:

I. The Greek People Under Foreign Rule (146 B. C.-1821 A. D.) (1-12); II. The Establishment of the Greek Kingdom (1821-33) (13-22); III. Bavarian Autocracy (1833-43) (23-35); IV. The Period Between the Two Revolutions (1843-62) (36-47); V. The Interregnum and the Ionian Islands (1862-4) (48-69); VI. The Constitution and the Cretan Question (1864-9) (70-81); VII. The Eastern Crisis of 1876 to 1886 (82-98); VIII. Economics, Crete and the Greco-Turkish War (1886-98) (99-113); IX. The Macedonian Question (1898-1908) (114-120); X. The Internal Reconstruction of Greece (1909-12) (121-134); XI. The Expansion of Greece (1912-13) (135-149); XII. Greece During the European Crisis (1914-21) (150-174); Bibliography (174-178); Index (179-184).

It is a sad thing that classical scholars pay so little attention to the fortunes of the Hellenic race after

the fall of Corinth. I may be pardoned, therefore, for touching upon some points of the later phases of the history of the Greek people.

Mr. Miller emphasises (2) the continuity of the Greek race and incidentally gives a slap at the foolish theory of Fallmerayer¹. He tells us that Fallmerayer's doctrine "is historically false and practically absurd.... the germs of Hellenism have survived the successive blows of alien rulers and invaders. The Greeks have absorbed these foreign elements..." In Chapter I Mr. Miller gives the Greek Church the credit it deserves, although he is not blind to the shortcomings of the Greek clergy (see e. g. 168). Says he (5): "... the Greek hierarchy has been in 'unredeemed' Greece the symbol of Hellenism, and in the dark days of Turkish rule the Orthodox Church saved the nation". The selfsacrifice of Greek benefactors is not passed over in silence. "... For this little Greece", says Mr. Miller (20), "some men lived solitary and laborious lives in order that they might bequeath to her their fortunes; and in the narrow limits of the classical land the Greeks of the dispersion found a country which inspired their patriotism. Having gained Greece, they sent money to adorn it".

Mr. Miller emphasizes rightly (23) the political characteristics of the Greek people. This perhaps explains why government is not very stable in Greece:

"... Centuries of subordination to foreign masters had developed that spirit of intrigue which was innate in the Byzantine character², while the love of politics is as inbred in the Greek as is the love of education. It is always harder to govern a highly critical and political people than the more stolid Northern nations..."

In this respect the ancient Greeks, with the exception of Sparta, were not any better than their descendants.

We are told (29), that in building the city of Athens, after it was made the capital of the modern Greek kingdom, the Bavarians "sacrificed not a few mediæval churches in their zeal for building a modern city..." Lovers of classical Greece and its art should feel deeply grateful to the father of Otto, King of Bavaria, who did not follow (29) "the terrible suggestion" of "erecting his son's palace on the Acropolis..." a thing which the Florentine Dukes of Athens had done in the fifteenth century.

On page 41 Mr. Miller has an ambiguous statement about Marcus Musurus, or Mousouros, the great classical scholar. It runs, "the Turkish minister, Mousouros, the translator of Dante..." This leaves the reader to infer that Mousouros was a Turk, since he was a Turk-

¹ J. P. Fallmerayer, Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea Während des Mittelalters (two volumes, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1830-1836). Welchen Einfluss hatte die Besetzung Griechenlands durch die Sklaven u. s. w. (1830), and Das Albanische Element in Griechenland (Munich, 1857-1861).

Fallmerayer had held that "not a drop of pure and unmixed Greek blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of contemporary Greece" (so Mr. Miller, 4). For a brief summary and criticism of Fallmerayer's theory see Sir Richard Jebb, Two Lectures on Modern Greece, 51-53 (London, Macmillan, 1901). Compare also Sir Rennell Rodd, The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece, 1-45 (London, David Stott, 1892); G. Finlay, History of Greece (edited by Tozer), 3, 219-241, especially 225; Charles K. Tuckerman, The Greeks of To-day, 329-366, especially 331 (New York, Putnam's, 1872); Lucy M. Garnett, Greece of the Hellenes, 1-2 (New York, Scribner's, 1914); J. L. Myres, Greek Lands and the Greek People, 13-14 (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1910).

² A cursory reading of the last volumes of Zonaras's History will make clear what Mr. Miller means by this remark.

ish Minister to Athens. But he was a Greek; his translation of Dante was done into ancient Greek³.

The Don Pacifico episode⁴, which in 1850 occasioned "the first of the three blockades in modern Greek history", Mr. Miller pronounces (42) "an incident enormously exaggerated". Public opinion and the other Powers were against it, and even Finlay⁵, usually severe in his judgments upon the people whom he had come to emancipate, and whom he remained to criticize, confessed (43) that "the British Government acted with violence, and strained the authority of international law..."

The abandonment of Parga by the British to the Turks is briefly touched upon. "...The exiles", says Mr. Miller (61), "settled in a suburb of Corfu, and deposited the sacred pictures and other things belonging to their old church at Parga in the garrison-church of that town 'until the day when the old home' should 'once more be free'..." That day came on January 21, 1913. Mr. Miller inclines to think that this episode was unduly magnified (59) "by poets and Anglophobe historians like Pouqueville...", and adds that Parga was "immortalized in the verse of Byron..." Why not note that it was immortalized also in the verse of numerous Greek poets and popular Greek ballads?

Mustoxides's memorandum to Douglas for liberal reforms, and the seizure of the papers of the great Corfiot historian are mentioned (62-63). Douglas's reforms, however, are not passed over (63). We read (66) that Gladstone "reverenced a Greek bishop as much as a Greek classic..." This remark is occasioned by mention of Gladstone's administration of the Ionian Islands as High Commissioner Extraordinary. The cession of these Islands to Greece in 1864 is commented upon as follows (69):

...The cession of the Islands serves as several historic lessons; it proclaimed in the face of an egoistic world the altruism of Great Britain; it served to the Greeks as a stepping-stone for the union with Crete; it may be a warning to the Italians that, if the British, admittedly past-masters in the art of governing dependencies, failed by material benefits to succeed in quenching the national aspirations of the Greeks in Corfu and Cyprus, they cannot hope to succeed in the Dodekanese....

Mr. Miller gives (129) the following statistics on the Dodekanesos (October, 1913): "...out of a total of

118,837 inhabitants, 102,727 were Greeks, and only 16,110 Turks, Jews and others, of whom 12,070 were in Rhodes, 4,020 in Kos, 20 in Patmos and none in the other islands..."⁶ "...That, like Corfu and Cyprus, they will ultimately fall to Greece is probable..." according to Mr. Miller (134).

The Cretans are the best fighters of all the Greeks (77).

In 1869 the first Greek railway was opened, "a most important event" (82). This road was from Athens to the Piraeus. In 1912 old Greece had 986 miles of railways. "...It was one of the merits of Trikoupes to develop the railway system..." In 1875 there were only 28 steamers; in 1915, there were 474, with a tonnage of 549,983. This number was reduced to 204 (161,522 tons) in 1919, as a result of the World War. Like many other foreigners who visit Greece, Mr. Miller urges that hotels in country towns should be built. This matter should indeed be taken up seriously by the Greek people as soon as possible. The lack of hotels has been a very serious drawback to touring in Greece.

The seizure of Lord Muncester in 1870 near Marathon by the brigands made an enormous stir (84). The British public became violently excited against Greece, "although only two of the twenty-one brigands were Greeks..." Vigorous measures were taken against brigandage; no foreigner has been captured since 1870, and the last case of the murder of a Greek by brigands was nearly thirty years ago⁷.

The problem of Greek emigration receives a place in this book. The Greek emigration to the United States (102) is "a phenomenon which had not existed before 1891. Its chief economic effect was the depletion of the agricultural districts..."

Mr. Trikoupes is called a statesman of first rank (96). On Venizelos, the historian comments thus (125):

...he possessed what the Greek politicians lacked—a fresh and independent mind, untrammelled by party ties and traditions. He was that rare phenomenon in Southern public life—character combined with intelligence, an irresistible combination everywhere....

Both Mr. Clemenceau and Mr. Zaimes foretold Venizelos's future greatness (124, 125). Venizelos's exile in 1920 makes Mr. Miller remark (163) that "history contains few examples of national ingratitude such as that of the Greeks..." He quotes (164) Mr. Takes Janescu's remark to him that "Venizelos was too big a man for a small country..." Mr. Trikoupes tried to form a Balkan League in 1891, but failed (135). Mr. Ralles, though a Greek, was a Tourkophile; he was a very honest politician. Mr. Miller in fact comments on the incorruptibility of the Greek Prime Ministers, whatever their other shortcomings. Says he (102):

...It is very creditable to the probity of Greek public life that at a time when...statesmen were mainly con-

³See J. E. Sandys, *A Short History of Classical Scholarship*, 186 (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1915). Professor M. Constantinides, *Neohellenica*, 99 (London, Macmillan, 1892), has an amusing dialogue on this point. After Mousourios's translation appeared, many people in England thought that the translator was a Turk. Even a "certain professor of international law" was deceived as to his race.

⁴For this episode see Finlay 7, 209-214.

⁵Finlay, the great historian of modern Greece, was somewhat pessimistic about the future of Greece, now free and independent (7, 181-183, 332). Some of the later writers on modern Greece were influenced by Finlay's acrid judgment. So G. W. Cox writes as follows (*History of Greece*, 670 [New York, Harper Brothers, 1883]): "That man must be sanguine indeed who can bring himself to think that during the years that have since passed the evils which affected Greek society have been attacked at their roots. Little has been done, perhaps nothing towards...the suppression of brigandage...the investment of capital in land...The old faults of the Greek character still produce their evil fruit of personal corruption....The memory of a great past still leads to talking rather than action, and the close of the half century of independence leaves the Greeks much where they were when the first years of freedom seemed to give promise of better things".

⁶For a fuller treatment of the Dodekanesos see M. D. Volonakis's excellent book, *The Island of the Roses and Her Eleven Sisters* (Macmillan, 1922).

⁷Edmund About wrote, in 1856, an amusing story about brigandage in Greece, entitled *Le Roi des Montagnes*, written as an answer to the criticism which his book, *La Grèce Contemporaine*, had evoked both in Greece and abroad. See also the quotation from Cox, note 4, above.

cerned with financial operations, the breath of scandal never touched any of them. The pecuniary prizes of office in Greece have always been ridiculously small, but there is no example of any Greek Premier having used his official opportunities to enrich himself....

The new territories acquired by Greece have begun to prosper greatly, an experience they did not enjoy under Turkish domination (145). It may, perhaps, be of interest to note that President Wilson did an irreparable harm to the Greek cause in North Epiros in refusing his consent to the arrangement arrived at in the Paris Conference, in January, 1920. Later, as a result of his refusal, the Conference of Ambassadors awarded both provinces (Argyrokastro and Koritza) to Albania (148).

Mr. Miller feels that great progress has been made in Modern Greece since her Liberation (166-167): "...Both intensively, as well as in extent, Greece has greatly progressed in the century of her independence. Athens is now one of the finest cities of the South.... Illiteracy has greatly diminished...." He criticizes Greek education, however, as not developing character. "Greek, like most foreign education, is too literary; it does not develop character...."

It is curious to note that Mr. Miller does not believe that a Greek Republic is possible (173-174):

...a Greek Republic seems unthinkable; what Greek would command, and keep, the support of a large majority of his fellow-countrymen? ... The present is an uncertain period of transition; whereas Hellenic democracy is 'half as old as time'.

With these words he closes his interesting history of the Greeks. Whether the Greek Republic, which he did not hope to see, is going to last or not, remains to be seen. All things are possible.

Much compressed within small compass—*multum in parvo*—such is Mr. Miller's history. It is not a dead record, but a living thing, clothed in flesh and blood by an eminent historian who has travelled and lived much among the Greek people, like another Finlay. His comments, therefore, are no less valuable, coming as they do from a man who has neither bias nor a thesis to maintain. His style is very readable and plain. The Greek people, as well as the intelligent reading public of England and America, should be thankful to Mr. Miller for writing a book based on original sources, and for being free from the prejudice and superciliousness to which such a topic might lend countenance in the hands of a less astute and sympathetic critic than Mr. Miller.

The Bibliography, though not very extensive, includes most of the best books (written in English) on the subject.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY CHRISTOPHER G. BROUZAS

¹The last chapter, especially the earlier part of it, seems to the present reviewer to suffer from its exceeding condensation. This is the part dealing with the World War, and Greece's position, attitude, etc., in that War, especially at first. The reader who wishes to gain a fuller and more correct picture of this phase of Greek history and the diplomacy of the Allies in regard to Greece will find help in a little book, *Greece and the Great Powers*, edited by H. B. Dewing (*American Friends of Greece*, Washington, 1924). At any rate, the two books should be read together.

A NOTE ON PROFESSOR BROUZAS'S REVIEW

I own a very interesting book, entitled *Two Roving Englishwomen in Greece*, by Isabel J. Armstrong (London, Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1893). The Preface (vii) begins as follows:

To the majority of English people, Greece is still a *terra incognita*, and to that fact alone can be attributed the wide-spread belief in the dangers encountered by the traveller in that kingdom. On my friend (Edith Payne) and I announcing our intention of starting off by ourselves to Greece, the general opinion seemed to be that we were going out to be murdered; or, if it did not come to murder, that we should get into some hobble out of which it would take at least a modern Perseus to deliver us. Our experience taught us that Greece was a charming country in which to travel, and if we did encounter danger, that was purely of our own courting.

From page 299 it appears that the journey was made early in 1892.

In Chapter IX (184-204) there is an account of a visit to the Vale of Temple. The chapter begins as follows:

At 6 a. m. we clattered out of Lárissa in fine style, the Professor making the fourth in our carriage. On the box was a sergeant of the gendarmes with a neat assortment of arms; a corporal and two privates riding behind, sword by the side, gun at rest on the knee, ready to encounter all the brigands of all Thessaly. Of the twenty-three "murderers" who had escaped from the prison at Lárissa, three had been recaptured, and one brigand had also been taken. In my mind I had always placed a live brigand in the same category as a dead donkey, and having seen the latter I should like to have looked upon the former, but out of idle curiosity to go and gaze at a poor man who was down on his luck would have been too great a dip into barbarism; if it had come in the way of a tussle with our escort, that would have been quite another thing. We had always thought "twenty-three murderers" rather a large order, and had been much amused by being reassured on the boat that they were not "murderers" at all, "only highwaymen," a solution which we thought aggravated it in our case.

On pages 209-210 one finds the following passage: "...The distance between Trikkala and Lárissa is about thirty-seven miles, and they are connected by a road. Our first intention had been to drive from the one place to the other, but as this district happened to be the especial preserve of the brigands at this time, we had been asked to give it up, and we did so, out of fear of being stopped altogether if we did not comply to polite requests. Had we gone it would have entirely depended on our escort if we had got through safely, for the brigands were uncommonly active just at that time, and had had several brushes with the soldiers. They were led by a young man of twenty-five, Tsigaridas, who, of course, was reputed to be very handsome and daring. He had refused to come in, be pardoned, and seen across the frontier, and had declared war to the knife, with the intention of making the most of his life whilst it lasted. A large party of Greeks who were going to visit their estates between Lárissa and Trikkala had to have a strong guard, and one night Tsigaridas and his band had slept in the village next to them, but had found their party too strong to attack. The brigands, however, kept up a disagreeable espionage, so that no one could move about unattended by soldiers; one of the party even declared that sentries were placed round the courts whilst they played lawn-tennis (?) No doubt it was as well we did not thrust our heads into all this, and we saved a day by coming by rail instead of driving across country.

CHARLES KNAPP

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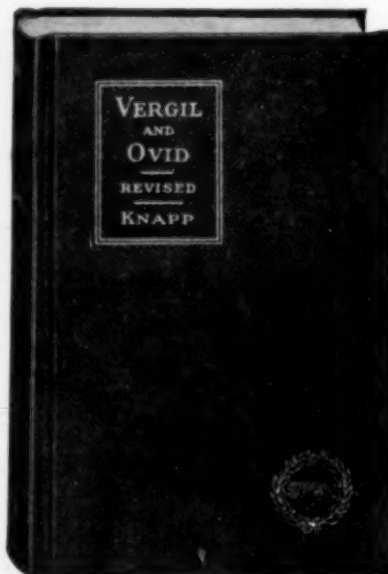
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